UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Shell Shock on the Home Front

By Randall S. Hilton

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

The Senexet Plan

The Y.P.R.U. (*Unitarian Youth Fellowship*) is the general fellowship of all Unitarian youth groups. Any local group, whose members are between the ages of 15 through 25, may affiliate with the Fellowship by affirming in writing its sympathy with the general purposes of the Fellowship and sending a list of its officers to the Secretary of the Fellowship. All affiliations will be subject to the approval of the Council.

The Convention is the basic policy-making body of the Fellowship. The Convention is held every two years, in the summer, in different parts of the United States and Canada. Every affiliated group is entitled to one voting delegate at the Convention. The Convention will hear reports from the Council and the Staff, review the work of the Fellowship, and study and formulate the policies and the program of the Fellowship for the following two years. The Convention will be much more than a "business session"; it will be a meeting of keen young minds, ready and able to work out a challenging program for Unitarian Youth.

The Council consists of the President, Treasurer, Secretary and twelve Directors. The Council is charged with the responsibility of administrating the program of the Fellowship as outlined by the Convention. The Council will meet at least three times a year for two or three day sessions. Again, because of ample time to do more than routine business (which should be done by staff and Officers anyway), the Council will be more of a planning and visionary body than the present Board of Directors.

The Corporation is a legal entity. It is completely coterminous with the Council, with the same Officers and Directors. Which means that at least once a year, the Officers and Directors of the Council convene as the Corporation and do whatever legal business regarding endowments and other legal business is required. This body is necessary to maintain the legal continuity between the old Y.P.R.U. and the proposed new Unitarian Youth Fellowship.

The Executive Committee will have the duties usually associated with executive committees, except that it too will spend much more time on working with youth program than with office routine. It will work with the Staff in administrating the youth program between meetings of the Council.

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXXVIII MAY, 1942 No. 3

Editorial Comments

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

I

The rejection of Britain's proposals to India was forecast from the moment the terms were announced. How the American newspaper press could believe that there was any chance of acceptance argues not so much propaganda deception or wishful thinking as sheer ignorance of India. A promise of dominion status after the war! — this satisfy Gandhi and Nehru and the multitudes they lead after the deliberate repudiation of a similar promise in the last war, followed by the Rowlatt Acts and Amritsar, and after the heroic sufferings and sacrifices of the last twenty and more years for independence? India has already paid too much for her dream to sell it back again for such counterfeit payment as Britain offered. The only surprising thing in the whole business is how such an able and well-informed man as Sir Stafford Cripps, and so true a friend of the Indian people, could have journeyed to India as Churchill's emissary with what apparently was the sincere conviction that his mission would be successful. He must have been counting on the war pressure to break down Indian resistance. But if this bargaining attitude was his, then he forgot that the war pressure was as heavy upon Britain as upon India itself. And Gandhi in any case does not yield to that kind of pressure. With such weapons as he wields, the Mahatma fears the new enemy as little as the old. One may well mourn this outcome, not only for the direful results impending, but also for the tragedy of missing an opportunity which might have been so easily won. What could have been simpler, or more effective, than for Britain to have said, in the large spirit of magnanimity and good will, "I bring you liberty! Organize your government forthwith. The Empire here and now withdraws, save as it may be invited to remain as a friendly ally for victory in this war." Can anybody doubt that the invitation would have been instantly proffered—and that a free India, like a free China, been bound, by bonds tighter than any that now exist, to the great cause of the United Nations? But, alas, Britain seems under some curse in India, as earlier in America and in Ireland. Yet will freedom come in India, as earlier in America and in Ireland!

II

The mass evacuations on the Pacific coast are not setting any too easily on the conscience of the American people. This wholesale removal of men, women, and children of Japanese birth or origin seems altogether too much like the pushing around of populations that has been going on in Europe for so long. Every report indicates that the authorities are handling a difficult job with a maximum of kindness and consideration, and yet what is being done to these Japanese reminds us uncomfortably of what the Nazis have done to Jews in Poland and elsewhere. Especially are we unhappy when we recognize that many, if not most, of the evacueés are American citizens — persons born (of Japanese parents) in America, who know no other country but America, and are properly entitled to all the rights and privileges guaranteed by the constitution and laws of this their native land. War of course is a necessity that knows neither constitution nor laws. But is there any necessity on the west coast which justifies the action of the President as directed against this single unhappy group among us? In the case of aliens, perhaps yes—though it should be remembered in the case of these Japanese that they are aliens, among other things, because the law denies them naturalization. But in the case of citizens, the native-born, it would seem elementary that there should be no discrimination as between those of Japanese descent and those of other racial descent. The perfectly legal process of martial law, which is resorted to by government in emergency, and which applies rigorously to all citizens whatsoever, would seem to point the way. In situations failing emergency conditions justifying martial law, there should be no such thing in this country as mass evacuations of single selected groups. The recommendation of the American Civil Liberties Union to the President in this case that each evacué be given a hearing, and the evidence of guilt or suspicion be

proved against him, should have the endorsement of the country. Surely the police and the courts, to say nothing of the F. B. I., are thoroughly competent, and thus can be trusted to handle a situation no more dangerous than that now existing on the west coast. To date there has been no evidence, either in Hawaii or California, of sedition among Japanese citizens. Then why these cruel mass evacuations?

III

England continues to show us how to do it—how to keep democracy alive in the midst of war, even such a war as now is raging. Look at the recent by-election in Cardiff East, Wales, for example—an out-and-out battle between a government candidate and a candidate opposed to the government and the war! The government candidate, Sir James Griggs, had been selected by Mr. Churchill to be War Secretary in the reconstructed cabinet, and therefore had to stand for re-election. His opponent was Fenner Brockway, Independent Laborite, well known in this country among pacifists and radicals. Sir James Griggs, of course, won the poll, but this is a matter of little importance as such result was to be expected. What is really important is the fact that Mr. Brockway, who got 25 per cent of the votes cast, was free to oppose the war, to lambast and lampoon the way it is being fought, and to call for its speedy end by negotiation. His program, as presented night after night to great crowds of earnest voters, was simple. Elect a Socialist government, turn England into a thoroughgoing Socialist state, and then appeal over the heads of the Nazis to the German people to join hands in building a better world. Along with this positive program went a slashing attack upon the Tories and the business men in England making good profits out of a losing war. A column-long dispatch in the New York *Times,* describing this amazing campaign, quotes Mr. Brockway as citing "tremendous corporate dividends in recent weeks" and declaring that "the chairman of one of the largest tin companies in Malaya had assured the stockholders since the Japanese occupation that a dividend of 55½ per cent would be paid and business carried on as usual." Here in this campaign is freedom in wartime unimpaired. Such freedom should be scrupulously protected and practiced here in America. And the coming Congressional elections this fall present the opportunity for us to do as well as the English. In last month's issue of UNITY I urged that the forthcoming campaign be used for a real contest on war issues. If the elections are to be something more than a gesture as empty as an election to the Reichstag in Nazi Germany, there must appear a genuine opposition. And England has shown us the way!

IV

The question of feeding the starving multitudes of this war-stricken world will not down. Relief has gone to Greece, as conditions there are so terrible that even the opponents of the Hoover Plan cannot stand it, but otherwise the blockade holds like an investing army around a besieged city. It is impressive to note that the volume of protest against this starvation policy, as a revival of ancient barbarism, is rapidly rising in England, and in unexpected places there. Thus, *New Religious Frontier* (Seattle, Washington) states that the London *Times* reports unrest among Arab civilians on the Libyan front because of food shortage incident to the British occupation. The condition seems to be very similar to that in the German-occupied countries in Europe. The *Times* offers excuses on the basis of poor crops and lack of shipping facilities; but a correspondent comes right back with the reminder that lack of shipping is Britain's responsibility, especially since the occupying troops are eating up most of the available food supply. What worries the London *Times* is the use the Axis is making of this situation. Says the *Times:* "Axis broadcasters have been spreading the unfounded but superficially plausible suggestion that the shortage of basic foodstuffs is due to requisitions by the Allied armies." It then goes on to make the obvious suggestion that such "untruthful propaganda" could be squelched "by supplying the Arabs with food." An English commentator, as quoted by *New Religious Frontier,* urges that this feeding policy be immediately extended to the starving nations of Europe. "Across the Atlantic," says this Englishman, "the granaries are bursting with surplus wheat. Instead of planning to distribute it after the war, we should get it to the hungry people now—and in quite a short time the world would be so gorged and content it just could not go on fighting." I am doubtful of this sanguine prophecy. In any case, it is beside the point at this moment. What concerns, or should concern, us all is the simple fact that millions of men, women, and children, altogether innocent of offense in this war, are slowly starving to death. Greece shows us that when the starvation—and the pestilence—gets bad enough, all barriers come down and food begins to move. Why not have it move before rather than after the crisis of sheer horror is reached? If Red Cross hospital ships for the relief of the wounded can move anywhere in time of war under mutual guaranties of safety, why not food ships for the relief of the hungry? It can be done —if we will!

V

You have got to hand it to the churches. They are writing a record in this war which is going to constitute eventually one of the most glorious chapters in human history. Where can you match anywhere the fight which churchmen this day are putting up against "principalities and powers, spiritual wickedness in high places, the rulers of the darkness of this world"? In saying this I am not thinking particularly of the pacifist ministers in this country and in England who in the

face of an overwhelming public opinion against them are standing steadfastly by the ideals of peace and brotherhood, though these will have their place in humanity's proudest heritage of truth. I am not thinking at the moment of the Malvern Conference in England and the Delaware Conference in this country, though these meetings of Christian leaders presented a statesmanship which puts to shame the so-called statesmanship of the White House and Downing Street. Rather am I thinking of the churchmen, priests and pastors alike, in the totalitarian and occupied countries of Europe, who have dared to defy the tyrants of the hour. Where in Germany and France and Norway and Belgium and Holland and Czechoslovakia is there any open opposition to Hitler except that offered by ministers? Take the situation in Norway, for example! It was not so long ago that all seven of the Lutheran bishops were compelled by the Quisling government to resign their exalted posts because of their refusal to do the bidding of the regime in the matter of the Nazi education of youth. Following this there came the unforgettable Sunday, reported via Sweden, when all the preachers of the land announced their decision to resign unless the Nazi authorities desisted from their endeavors to enforce the "new order" taking the youth away from the control of their families and churches. The message pronounced by these preachers was a single message, and therefore represented the choral voice of all (with a few Quisling exceptions) of the clergymen of Norway. At the same time prayers were read for the seven ousted bishops. Here is defiance of which the early Christians in Rome might be proud. This is an order of courage well-nigh unknown in the secular world of our time. It is a superb example here in the West, of Gandhi's principle of "non-violent non-cooperation." It is easy to criticize the church, just because of the exalted nature of its ideals. But now let criticism for a time at least be silent!

VI

General MacArthur is a stirring figure. In a desperate hour, when a hero is desperately needed to save the souls of men from utter despair, he has been raised up as though by some magic hand. Everything about him seems to be right, both for the militarist and for the pacifist. Thus, on the one hand, he looks the soldier. His name has the right ring. The language of his dispatches is as lean and sinewy as his muscular frame. On the other hand, he has the spirit of chivalry, and thus pays tribute to the gallantry of the foe and treats them as honorable men. Such high qualities as may pertain to the soldier, MacArthur has. But I do not envy him his future—i. e., the future that lies beyond the close of this war. Grant him to the end the victory that thus far has trailed his footsteps, there still remains the aftermath which makes me grow chill with apprehension. For the populace is as cruel as a spoiled child. The hero must dance its tunes and please its whims to the very end. There seems to be no such thing, at least here in America, as releasing a popular idol into the blessed oblivion of private life, and thus letting him go again his independent way. Admiral Dewey, born to fame in the same field of martial glory as General MacArthur, lived to taste dregs as bitter as the earlier nectar was sweet. And not any wrong on Dewey's part, but the sheer fickleness of an arbitrary public which would make the hero its puppet, led to his fateful fall. Charles Lindbergh is a more recent and even more tragic example of the pitfalls that lie in the pathway of popular adulation. The very fervor of their initial adoration seemed to the people to justify their later incredible abuse of a man who was guilty of no offense but that of independent judgment on matters of crucial national policy. Already MacArthur is a slave—a slave to the propaganda build-ups of the government, and an equal slave to the heroic expectations of the public. He must play now his appointed role. If he falls short by so much as one iota of the people's arbitrary demand, or in his triumph follows at any point his own desire in contradiction to the people's fancy, then woe be unto him. An admirer of this officer may well tremble at the dangers which beset him in the Far East, but may tremble more at the more direful dangers which await him here at home.

Jottings

I have just seen a pretentious Dinner Menu (Waldorf-Astoria Hotel), in which the "Star Spangled Banner" is set down as the first item on the Program of Entertainment. How long since has the singing of the national anthem been a matter of "entertainment"?

Now that America has settled down to Daylight Saving for the duration, Australia has done away with it. Australia argues that to extend the period of daylight is to interfere with sleep, increase fatigue, and in general to cut down the efficiency of labor. As Australia is seven thousand miles nearer the war than we are, it would seem as though she ought to know. Perhaps Daylight Saving is not so smart as we think.

We are now told that General MacArthur believes himself to be "a man of destiny." I hope this is not true. I shall insist it is not true unless and until evidence is produced to the contrary. It is not the General who thus foolishly classifies himself with Napo-

leon and Hitler but some witless publicity man who is building up the General for popular consumption. As though MacArthur's own exploits were not enough!

Strange that the symbolical significance of the word "blackout" is not more generally recognized! What is war but a "blackout" of peace, order, good will, culture, enlightenment, and all that makes life worth while?

Well, war does some good, after all! I have just heard that all the monstrous German cannon brought to this country after the last war, and set up on various town commons and village greens, are to be removed and broken up for scrap. This is not exactly what we are fighting for, but it is something gained at least.

In his address before the Supreme Court in Vichy, former Premier Blum said: "I was first called a pacifist and then called a bellicist." Here is an addition to the general usage of language which is invaluable. What is the opposite of "pacifist"? "Militarist"! But "militarist" has a meaning of its own, which is grossly unfair to the sincere non-pacifist. Obviously *"bellicist"* is the word.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The Stanford Conference on Religion in Higher Education

ELMO A. ROBINSON

The Stanford Conference on Religion in Higher Education, similar in character to that held a year ago, recently brought to the campus of Stanford University men of widely divergent convictions, tasks, and institutional allegiances. For three days at the end of February they were united in discussions which were provoked not merely by the scholarly character of the papers read, but also by the background of world tragedy. Without prior consultation and without seeking to incorporate their deliberations into publishing findings, the speakers were in general agreement in several respects. What follows is an attempt to state these agreements as they came to a focus in the mind of one attendant.

"The nostalgia of the jellyfish for the rock" was Professor James Luther Adams' phrase for describing the typical atmosphere of college campuses. This attitude, whose name is secularism, and which is in essence a religion of self-sufficient finitude and a trust in new techniques, constitutes the central problem of religion in higher education. This same religion of secularism was described as a diseased pantheism by James Malloch, Dean of Fresno's St. James Cathedral, who recommended the two more recent books of Charles Hartshorne for those who wish to make a study of definitions in the field of religion. Rabbi Edgar Magnin of Los Angeles, also disparaging secularism, nevertheless affirmed it preferable to paganism. With all its shortcomings he found it preferable to a church-dominated state. Better weakness with liberty, he said, than crowded churches with tyranny. Lewis Mumford, in a not unkindly manner, chided universities as being merely bookkeeping machines for recording score cards of students' achievements. Like other institutions of our time they represent an excessive confidence in technical equipment, whose over-elaboration is an obstacle to good teaching, since it substitutes mechanical routine for the contact of one mind with another.

Several speakers made the diagnosis of "spectatoritis" for one disease widespread in this secular age. President Ray Lyman Wilbur asserted that this accounted for the woeful unreadiness of the American people for warfare, and that now we have to learn how to get into the game. That church-supported colleges believe one of their functions to be the development in their students of a concern for world problems was the contention of Professor Morgan Odell of Occidental College. Faculties of state-supported colleges, reported Dean Walter J. Homan of San Francisco State College, in their endeavor to be tolerant and non-sectarian, sometimes seem to have a complacent indifference to the springs of religious motivation. Professor Adams criticized educators for substituting apathy for tolerance, and voiced the need for faith in a power outside the machine and for a sharing of that love which will not let men go.

This loss of grip on life by educators was interpreted by Mr. Mumford as an instance of an endemic condition, of which we were made aware by the collapse of France. We have cultivated an easy and secure method of life, with no effort, no sacrifices. We have wanted some one else to die for us, or expected our machines to do whatever was necessary.

Mr. Mumford was not without a note of optimism, mingled with gentleness and humor, but his address as a whole placed him among the prophets of doom. We are witnessing a catastrophe, he said, not an emergency; a phase of disintegrating civilization, not a temporary inconvenience. In the Fifth Century the best families believed that the Roman Empire would last another thousand years, and many of the new Christians agreed with them. But Marcus Aurelius, living at the heart of the Empire, found the whole routine without meaning and repulsive. Similarly our own civilization has already lost much of its meaning, and thousands who give their lives to its mechanized tasks are revolting in their hearts. Success far beyond the hopes of Galileo and Bacon is ours, but we have insecurity and fear. To men of the Nineteenth Century every new invention was prophetic of brotherhood, but at the moment of utmost mastery we perceive that brotherhood has not happened.

And now when the proletariat at home and in colonial lands is in revolt against what we have said is the good life, we are being challenged by a group of powers who use our technics to overthrow our values. Is there at the bottom of our culture enough strength to overcome the forces arrayed against us? No civilization

like ours can save itself as a whole. Some things will be lost and well lost.

We cannot save our culture merely by holding on to what we have. Our means are no longer effective because we have lost faith in our ends. Economic reform and political change will not be enough. Surveys, mass meetings, and revivals are inadequate. The fundamental question is: What can we do to rebuild our moral foundations? The starting point for a new society is not the institution nor the corporation, but the individual personality. There is demand for personal courage and selflessness of a high order. We must revaluate. We must examine what we have with a view to rejecting what is of no importance. Each must reconstruct that which is within his grasp, and discover what it is that he regards as worth living for and dying for.

Another phase of evaluation was presented by Dr. Frederic Spiegelberg, an evaluation of other races and nations, a correction of our misconceptions of other peoples. The secret weapons of the Japanese are not machines but an attitude and a faith which we fail to understand. But we must learn to understand them, and, without giving up our individuality, cultivate an adequate faith for ourselves.

Doctor Spiegelberg asserted that the religion of the Japanese is a fact to be studied, known, taught. Others amplified and generalized the thesis that religious knowledge is *knowledge*. There is a literature, a history of religious ideas, said Doctor Odell. There are forms and practices to be understood. Aside from the deeper significance of this body of facts it is a necessary prerequisite to the appreciation of English literature, to the discovery of the roots of Anglo-Saxon institutions, to an understanding of man's long quest for the divine. In the sermon which brought the Conference to a close Doctor Adams denied the popular claim that science deals with facts, religion with values. Religion deals with facts, he said. Jesus was a teacher of facts. Unless man knows and attends to these facts, disaster results.

That religion is a form of knowledge has been the contention of Professor D. Elton Trueblood in his published books, and this same thesis he upheld in his address on "Theology as an Academic Discipline." Reaffirming the argument of Newman that there is a body of knowledge and that the university is a place of universal knowledge, he argued that theology ought to be taught in a university. Moreover if it is not taught professionally, it will appear amateurishly. It is inescapable. And it can be taught in a non-sectarian manner, as an objective critical study. True, some types of theology cannot thus be taught, but among the remainder there is surprising unanimity. The speaker quoted President Conant and President Wilbur as reporting it difficult to distinguish between the views expressed by college preachers of varying faiths.

Arnold Nash reported divergent views among English Anglicans as to whether religion should be taught in a separate department, His own view is that if religious education becomes a specialized discipline, it is neither religious nor education. Such a bifurcation gives comfort to secularism. Hence the establishment of a department of religion in a university is a calamity. Religion should unify and pervade all subjects taught. For example, instead of permitting economics and Christianity each to have a set of categories at sword's points with each other, there is need for Christian categories in economics. Education should be for the whole personality; the question is for what type of personality. Religion in higher education ought to answer by teaching all subjects in a spiritual way and with Christian categories.

Doctor Trueblood agreed in part with Mr. Nash, but he argued that the absence of a department of religion would result in the omission of subjects such as comparative religion which would find a home in no other department. The possible evils of a separate department of religion arise not from its separateness from other departments but if and when it is divorced from the religious life of the campus. Courses labelled religion may not be religious and if the teacher has no responsibility for the practice of religion outside the classroom, the effect is bad.

The relation between religion and higher education was acutely analyzed by Doctor Adams. The present war, he asserted, is being fought to determine what should be the relation between higher education and the state. There are three possible positions to take. Either there is no relationship between them, or they are two unrelated entities accidentally associated, or they are essentially related. The first two were pronounced both false and undemocratic by the speaker; the third was defended.

Higher education is ideally characterized by trained intelligence, free inquiry, critical temper, and a sense of responsibility towards society. Actually education has often been frustrated by political, ecclesiastical, economic, or racial domination. But in theory it is in accord with democracy. It requires the friendly *milieu* of a democratic society, and it tends to correct the perversions of democracy. Higher education is education for higher democracy; it is education of "men and women capable of freedom."

In discussing the particular types of religion which have a place in higher education, Doctor Adams excluded those forms which are hostile to higher education, hostile to democracy, hostile to free inquiry. Heteronymous religions are excluded—those which claim to find a final authority in some finite entity such as a book, a church, a race, or a culture, criticism of which is forbidden. Not excluded, but nevertheless admitted with reservations, were the autonymous religions of liberalism and humanism, since these easily relapse into heteronymy. Admitted are those which are theonymous, those which refuse to capsule God, which refuse to try to exhaust the infinite in some book or idea, which find no radical distinction between the sacred and the secular, and which exempt neither the church nor any other institution from prophetic criticism.

In this same spirit of prophetic criticism Doctor Adams contrasted the typical attitudes of educators towards Protestant and Catholic denials of free inquiry. The Scopes case was laughed out of court, but towards Catholic restrictions on freedom of inquiry there is a policy of appeasement. Educators seem afraid, he said, to mention the unambiguous pronouncements of the Catholic Church; these have never come to an issue.

The possibility of a scholarly and critical attitude in the service of an authoritarian church was defended by Professor Daryl Chase of Arizona, who described the work of the Mormon Institutes. These are institutions for study, worship, and recreation maintained by the Mormon Church adjacent to non-Mormon universities. College credit is frequently given for the courses offered. Mormonism, said Mr. Chase, began with mil-

lennialism but rejected revivalism. The early leaders frankly recognized their own ignorance and the value of learning. Often quoted today are two texts from Mormon scripture: "No man can be saved in ignorance," and "The glory of God is intelligence."

The conviction that both religion and higher education are intimately related to democracy, emphatically proclaimed in Doctor Adams' address, was reinforced by other speakers. The recognition of the possibility that the state of world affairs may not permit a similar conference next year induced a mood of dignity and soberness rather than one of consternation. There was a conviction of work to be done, of a front which is other than military. Mr. Mumford, indeed, found the basis of hope in the very severity of the impending calamity. People usually revaluate life only in the face of personal grief. But the present tragedy is mass grief. Soon we shall all be responding to the same situation. We shall find that we have no alternative except to rebuild our lives and our world. A new fellowship must emerge.

Thirty persons had places on the program; only one failed to appear. Nearly all of the speakers had made more than adequate preparation. Included in the program but not made explicit in the foregoing report were forums on educational practices of several types of churches, on new conceptions of the college and university, on the undergraduate mind, and on the teaching of religion in different educational settings. The Conference, made possible by the resources of Stanford University, was planned and guided by its Chaplain, Doctor Trueblood.

Shell Shock on the Home Front

RANDALL S. HILTON

The emotional and psychological jitters that develop on the Home Front can be as devastating to personal stability and as disastrous for effective living as shell shock on the battle front. These are times which try men's souls and reveal what manner of men we are.

The reaction to Pearl Harbor, Singapore, Sumatra, Java, and the submarine sinkings and shellings along our Atlantic and Pacific Coast lines is bound to have a definite effect on our total outlook on the life of our times. But from the standpoint of morale and of integrated personal living, the pressures of production and the "all out" defense efforts are having an even greater influence. The subtlety with which these pressures disrupt clarity of thinking and constructiveness of action makes it most difficult to recognize what is happening to people and even more difficult to find an adequate solution.

The ease with which so many have dropped their interest and activity in the normal pursuits of life and are devoting themselves with a concentrated nervous enthusiasm to the new and popular programs of defense is startling in the light of cold logic. It is not only a real threat to the continued existence of those institutions which have been considered an integral part of American life and essential to the maintenance and furtherance of democracy but it is a direct challenge to the fundamental principles of personal and social living.

This is not an apologia for the church, character-building agencies, charity institutions, or service organizations, but what is happening to these and other groups, and in most of our social relationships, is only a symptom of a basic lack of a realistic philosophy of democracy, social economy, and of life.

The muddled thinking that uses the "all out" defense program as an excuse for getting all out of the normal functions of the community and home life is not the kind of thinking which will create the world we say we are fighting for. Unless we can keep alive the principles of constructive democratic living and the functioning relationship of these principles, our victory in this war will be hollow and empty.

As I have watched personal tensions increase among my friends and acquaintances I have often wondered whether Americans have become "soft" and "can't take it." Or, is it the lack of a sound personal philosophy? The results are clear, whatever the reason, that there are far too many people who once seemed to have been adjusted to life who now are displaying neurotic and pathological tendencies. The toll this is taking in personal maladjustment and unhappiness, in unpleasant family relationships, inefficiency and ineffectiveness in work staggers the imagination.

A friend once told me that the place where he worked was developing men of even-tempered dispositions—they were "mad" all the time. This is not an isolated, unique situation. It is all too prevalent.

With the increased pressures and necessity for overtime, night, and even home, work that war orders have demanded, a new psychological state of mind is rapidly developing. I call it "hyposlavia." Like the hypochondriac who enjoys poor health and by a process of self-hypnosis can produce it, the hyposlaviac enjoys the feeling of being overworked and deliberately does those things to induce it.

This mental disease is not only found among those working in defense plants but also among many who are working for voluntary defense organizations. The pathos in these situations is that it creates psychological tensions and definite neuroses which if not understood and mastered may require the attention of a psychiatrist or a physician. It is impossible to calculate the toll this takes on efficient production and in personal happiness.

But there is no need for these extreme cases to develop. Hyposlavia, unlike hypochondria, is only a pseudo mental illness. It can be mastered. It is a form of the "jitters," a "para" hysteria. It is a warning as to what might develop rather than the evidence of what has developed. It is a symptom of spiritual anemia which weakens resistance to psychological crises, warps personal perspective and judgment, and results in the loss of self-mastery.

All of this is a tremendous challenge to liberal religion and at the same time a real opportunity. The essence of a personal liberal religion is self-mastery. No other form of religion offers so much freedom nor demands so much self-discipline. The liberal knows that disciplined freedom is the only true freedom. He knows, too, that to be master of life he must be master of himself. By word and by deed the liberal must persuade and exemplify the power of healthy-mindedness. This means that the religious principles of love, affec-

tion, sympathetic understanding, kindness, fairness, integrity, confidence in self and others, and the search for truth must be more than just word-symbols of ideals. They must become a part of our everyday experience.

This means, too, that we must "keep the home fires burning" by making sure that the normal functions of community and family life are not allowed to suffer. It is time that the American people realize that "all out" defense means "this in addition to" what we have been doing in the way of constructive personal, family, and community interests. Important as the task is that America become the military reservoir for democracy, it is also important that we become the living, growing embodiment of democracy.

Military victory will give us a dominant place in world affairs, but it will not give us the Four Freedoms. Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Religion, Freedom from Want, Freedom from Fear—these can only be achieved in the daily lives of men and women who believe in these freedoms sufficiently to discipline themselves to practice them now.

If we yield to the hysteria and jitters of military reverses and the problems of production—whether of tanks or of sweaters—we will lose the Four Freedoms and, worse, we will lose our own souls. For then we will have demonstrated that we were not strong enough, and our principles not real enough to see us through all the vicissitudes of life.

There are many who are losing their lives for our sakes. The least we can do is so to live that we prove ourselves worthy of their sacrifice and that those who come after us shall have life and have it more abundantly.

New Light on Anti-Semitism?

VICTOR S. YARROS

Recent discussions of the old problem of anti-Semitism, in books and magazines, particularly in the *Atlantic Monthly,* have, it must be admitted, thrown very little new light and offered few, if any, constructive suggestions. No solution is in sight, although, notoriously, the anti-Semitic organizations and groups are growing and getting more audacious and aggressive.

Now, it is obvious that the problem is mainly a *Christian* problem. The distinguished Professor Compton of the University of Chicago has pointed out this fact with candor and vigor. The persecutions and denunciations of the Jews are clearly unchristian, uncivilized, and irrational. The American Jews have done *nothing* to deserve the treatment these vicious groups would accord them. They have been good citizens, good fighters for the country, good trade unionists, good judges, good legislators, good physicians, and good lawyers. Many of them are Agnostics, but so are many educated and high-minded gentiles. What is the head and front of their offending, then? The venomous rabble-rousers have no answer to this simple question. They are merely full of hate and prejudice. One cannot argue with them. Yet they are dangerous, for they appeal to the base and low passions which, alas, are easily excited among the ignorant, the undisciplined, and the gullible.

The important question I wish to raise here is this: Can the Jews be asked and expected to *do* something, something they have overlooked and failed to do, as a substantial contribution to the reasonable solution of the problem of anti-Semitism? Too many are of the opinion that they cannot, and that it is for the gentiles and the so-called Christians to repent, to cease and to refrain from continuing their discriminations, persecutions, and wholesale slanders and condemnations. The present writer does not share that view. He is convinced that the Jews are not without responsibility for the profound prejudices felt against them, and that they can and should take certain steps and measures which would tend gradually, perhaps, but effectually to improve their position.

The great misfortune of the Jews in this country and elsewhere is that they have been unmindful of the necessity of returning to the land—to agriculture as a way of life. There are few Jewish farmers, save, significantly, in Palestine. One-third of the population of *every* ethnic group should normally cultivate the soil. The laws and public opinion should encourage that development, instead of rendering it hard or even impossible for Jews—as in Czarist Russia—to acquire land and farm it.

Any considerable group which neglects and forsakes farming as a way of life and means of earning a productive living is bound to be accused of parasitism. Too many Jews are in trade and commerce, and too many of them are in certain liberal professions—law and medicine chiefly. Their standards in either case are not lower than those of their gentile competitors, but they are, nevertheless, charged with trickery, aggressiveness, and shrewdness. There is little fairness in these charges, but human nature being what it is, they will be preferred and pressed. The consequences are highly detrimental.

The annual "invasion" by the Jewish graduates of the professions just named is resented and deplored even by enlightened gentiles. This is a fact that cannot be denied, and the implications of that fact must be faced by all Jews, courageously and soberly. No sacrifice is involved in the suggestion. Young men and women can be trained for scientific agriculture, coöperatively carried on, perhaps, in our schools and institutes. Life on farms is healthy, independent, comfortable, especially in these days of radio and recorded music, and excellent transportation. Dignity, self-respect, contact with nature in all its moods, the feeling of usefulness, all these values are assured by agriculture. The charge of parasitism could not be leveled at Jewish farmers, and there is still plenty of land to be had in many of our states.

I may add that the late Jane Addams, long the head of Hull House and internationally famous for her humanity, her sense of justice, her freedom from all prejudices, often expressed, in conversations with the writer—a resident of Hull House for about twenty years and a settlement worker—the ideas set forth in the foregoing paragraphs. She believed that the application of these ideas would contribute powerfully to a satisfactory solution of the problem of anti-Semitism, at least in those gentile circles that are amenable to reason.

What, one wonders, will be the reaction of educated and broadminded men and women, Jewish or gentile, to the constructive suggestion here briefly outlined?

Sister Kenny—Medical Revolutionary

HAROLD P. MARLEY

If it is possible to clean up a community by making it soap-conscious, it is reasonable to assume that making a nation polio-conscious should greatly help in the effort to aid the victim of infantile paralysis. Every American, because of his president's affliction, knows about the heroic battle which polio victims must wage on their own account. He knows, through the march of dimes to the National Foundation headed by a former law-partner of President Roosevelt, that he, too, has a part to play. If he is a sports-lover, he had to swallow hard when he read about the tragic rusting away of that iron man of baseball, Lou Gehrig. Everyone knows at least one victim of anterior poliomyelitis —in his family, in the old home town, or in the house next door.

Civic clubs have specialized in doing what they can to help the many crippled-children's societies. Business men have even turned newsboys for a day to bolster special funds. But the thing which is gradually making the headlines is the work of Nurse Elizabeth Kenny who has found a way to bring about prevention, rather than cure. Not in all but in many cases she has been so successful that her homeland Australia has officially adopted her method of treatment. Now, she is busily engaged in training others in this country under the direction of the medical school of the University of Minnesota.

Infantile paralysis is caused by a germ which strikes adults and youth, as well as infants. It is both ancient and modern. On an old Egyptian monument, there is a picture of a priest going about his oblationary duties with his right leg hanging limply from his body. Mention is made of paralytics in Scripture. But the disease has only reached the proportion of an epidemic in modern times, and particularly with the last war. In 1916 there were over nine thousand cases in New York City, and 2,248 of these were fatal. There are 170,000 people in this country alone who are crippled as a result of infantile paralysis, and most of these cases occurred between 1916 and 1939.

Medicine has done everything it could to get at the sub-microscopic virus which preys upon nerve cells along the spinal cord and causes trouble on the line of communication between brain and muscle. Because of a generous public which does not like to see children suffer and carry over the scars of that suffering for life, there has been ample money provided for research. Millions have been poured into the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis which was set up in 1938. Much of this, appropriately, was raised by a recreation which requires a high coordination of all body muscles —the dance. The medical men in charge of policy have seen that some money went to educate doctors and nurses, some was kept for epidemics, but most of it has been poured into the coffers of research. In order to control the disease, it must be understood. It is now believed that infection takes place in the gastro-intestinal tract instead of being breathed in, and the injecting of serum to control the disease is worse than nothing.

One thing which medicine has neglected, and which has now put the profession into a kind of Pearl Harbor dither, is the nursing treatment during the early acute stage. The bomb which has dropped squarely into the middle of the hospital arena is the Kenny treatment. The explosion is sending medical men scurrying to the Minneapolis clinic, where this capable and keenly observant nurse is demonstrating her method. The public reads that the discovery dates back to 1910 and they wonder why medical men were not better prepared, and why the profession was so slow to lend its ear to a method of treatment which it now says is an improvement over the old one. Without state medicine there will be no affixing of responsibility and no heads will drop in the basket, but it is certain that any parent whose child contracts the disease from now on will insist on the treatment perfected by Sister Kenny. If the *Journal of the American Medical Association* is a criterion, the child will get it. The first scientific report to be published in America dealing with the new method, appeared in the June 7th issue of this journal, and stated that eleven of twenty cases treated had been successful and the children discharged completely normal. The other nine showed seven to be progressing satisfactorily, one just admitted, and one with a paralysis of both legs, which was not responding. All these were children who had been brought to the clinic within two weeks. Six other cases were discussed where the disease had been at work for from two weeks to two months. Two of these were well, one had permanent paralysis in one arm, and the other two were "quite likely" to have some degree of permanent paralysis. In other words, four-fifths were cured when they came in time, which is considerably better than results heretofore obtained. Furthermore, the report of the doctors said "patients are much more comfortable and cheerful, and it appears that the disability is less severe than would have been expected ordinarily." By "ordinarily" they mean immobilization, which means putting the affected parts in splints to prevent, by physical means, the pulling of limbs or spine out of the normal position.

The reason Elizabeth Kenny does not use splints today is because she did not have any to use back in 1910 in Australia. Had she been able to use the orthodox treatment, she says frankly that she would not have made her discovery. Unable to get a doctor, she did what she could as a nurse. She *nursed* the pain away and brought relief through hot fomentations (strips of blanket wrung out in hot water). Then, because of her knowledge of bones and muscles, she got the patient to re-think the use of muscles which they *thought* they could not use, or were afraid to use because of the previous pain. After the storm of pain had passed, there was "line trouble." She knew enough to restore service and get the children on their feet and back to normal. Her recent book on her method is dedicated to the doctor who first watched her demonstration and believed in her. But there is polite rancor in the book about the doctors who would not believe—those who raised scientific eyebrows, and those who set out to discredit her as an outright quack. This was back in Australia in the old days, and more recently in England. She received an almost immediate response in this country when she came with only a letter of recommendation to someone in the Mayo Hospital.

This is all a part of the story, for not only are children today being eased over the most painful of diseases and saved permanent disability, but there is a

lesson or two in sociology. Why is it that human beings behave as they do? Why are traditions so sacred, and why are some people so inspired with new descoveries that they refuse to be buried 'neath the mound of tradition? This Kenny person was a young woman when she first made her discovery. She was a nurse in the last war, and it was then that she patented an improvement on a stretcher which has brought her enough income to carry on her campaign without profit to herself and without too much futile camping on the doorsteps of Foundations. Past fifty now, she still persists —others must learn the method, from the ground up. It takes a good six months. Judged from the reception accorded one of their own, Pasteur, when he made a discovery, the medical profession today has not been too harsh on this unknown woman who has gone forward with her chance discovery to the textbook stage. The profession does point out that she has borrowed from physio-neurology, and that the heavy bandages and board at the foot of the bed do act as a "kind of splint." The latest book on the subject of poliomyelitis by Lewin, gives her method only one page, and concludes that the most practical benefits derived are "rapid relief from pain and sensitiveness and prevention of contractures."

Boiled down to its elements, the Kenny treatment is in reality a triumph of nursing over drugs. It is physio-therapy foreshortened to include that period preceding the malfixation of muscles. It is physio-neurology applied to situations with a view of prophylaxis rather than cure. In other words, it is a successful conquest of the enemy before he can entrench himself. The method can do nothing to restore nerve tissue when it is destroyed by the virus of the disease, but it definitely has demonstrated that it can reëstablish normal nerve conduction paths and normal functions of affected parts when there is not a loss of nerve tissue. When there is trouble on the line, an astute plugging in by the central office of the mind can rectify the confusion without too much interruption of the service and resulting loss of patronage. The "patrons" of the nervous system are the intricate sets of muscles, set in opposing groups, one group obligingly expanding when the other contracts, and vice versa. An athlete can become muscle-bound, but a victim of paralysis has his muscles put into a sound sleep. Nurse Kenny keeps them awake. She says that her treatment is seventy per cent nursing and thirty per cent muscle reëducation. She has shown that inactive muscles can either be left inactive, like those which control movements of the ear, or can be brought into use.

Nursing is important because it establishes rapport between mind and body. It is the handmaiden of nature. Much of our modern civilization has been based upon an exploitation of nature instead of working with nature. Just as the soil conservationist is coming to the fore, we have this infinite-patience method coming to help in polio cases. It sits by the bedside, changing bandages, giving gentle manipulations of muscles in spasm, and when the last trace of soreness is assuaged, it leaps to the reconciliation of alienated muscles. It is one more feather in the cap of science, for previously many cripples who could not be helped by surgery had recourse only to the so-called miraculous cure of some sacred spot which served as a focus for healing hysteria. Sister Kenny is not a nun, but Catholic sisters who maintain hospitals will bless her for perfecting her "miracle" of child care. All hospitals will soon be prepared with trained people who can administer this revolutionary treatment. All thinking, and all articles such as the one in the last issue of the Encyclopedia Brittannica must be revised, but this is the price of progress. One look at a child who is handicapped for life is proof enough that progress is not too fast, but too slow.

Statement by James Waterman Wise

The Council Against Intolerance in America has proposed to the War Department that a Mixed (White and Colored) Division be formed as a practical expression of the democratic belief that all men are created equal.

The formation of such a Division would do much to offset the danger to national morale inherent in the policy of segregation and would be of the greatest value in creating that national unity which is essential for victory. Moreover, the formation of such a Mixed Division would have significant and heartening effect on the morale of the hundreds of millions of allies in China, India, and British Africa who would find it a concrete instance of the democratic ideal for which we are fighting.

From Revolutionary War days, through the Civil, Spanish, and first World War, the American Negro has a splendid history as a fighter (as a matter of record, two privates of the 369th Infantry—Negro—were the first Americans to be decorated with the Croix de Guerre in 1918). The proposal to form the Mixed Division was first made at a Victory through Unity Conference in New York City by Professor Alonzo Myers of New York University, who stated his conviction that "a man who is good enough to fight *for* me is good enough to fight *with* me." Since that time hundreds of individuals have offered their support of the plan and signified their willingness to serve in such a Division if formed.

The Council Against Intolerance in America plans to send a delegation of prominent citizens to Washington to urge the formation of this Division. But in order for the delegation to be effective, it is necessary first to secure many thousands of signatures from men who will express their willingness to serve in this Division.

As stated above, the Council Against Intolerance in America has proposed the establishment of a Mixed (Colored and White) Division in the United States Army. Should you enlist or be drafted, would you be willing to serve in such a Division? If so, please fill out the form below and mail to the Council Against Intolerance in America, Lincoln Building, New York City.

Name .....

Address .....

Age or Draft Classification.....

Some Living Latin-American Liberals

JOHN H. HERSHEY

H. G. Wells of England, Ernest Dimnet of France, Lin Yutang of far-off China, the late Rabindranath Tagore of distant India are thinkers whose names at least, and often their writings, are familiar to many of the reading public in our country. But there is a part of the world having thinkers whom many do not seem to know even by name. It is Latin America. This article attempts to sketch briefly the public career and teachings of several social and religious liberals of South America. They are the social reformer, Victor Haya de la Torre of Peru; the educator and poet, Gabriela Mistral of Chile; the playwright and philosopher, Ricardo Rojas of Argentina; and the anthropologist, Arthur Ramos of Brazil.

A leading social reformer of South America is Victor Haya de la Torre who was born in Trujillo, Peru. He is noted as the founder and leader of the Popular Revolutionary Alliance of America or the "Apra" as it is popularly called. It is an inter-American radical social movement of students, intellectuals, and workers. Although still comparativelly young, Haya has had a dramatic career. When a youth he was a law student at St. Mark's University in Lima, and president of the Student Federation. Because of his radicalism, his parents withdrew financial support, with the result that he experienced unemployment and hunger. In 1923, Augusto Leguía, the President of Peru, planned to consecrate the country to an image of the sacred heart of Jesus. But a demonstration of students and workers led by Haya frustrated the plan. For his agitation he was deported from Peru in October, 1923. For eight years, he was in exile, during which time he traveled in Russia, Switzerland, Germany, England, the United States, Mexico, and Central America. Leguía finally fell, and Haya returned to his native country. He became the candidate of the Apra for president of Peru in 1931, and received a large vote. His successful opponent, Sánchez Cerro, sent him to the penitentiary where he was held "incommunicado" for sixteen months. But in 1933, Cerro was killed, and the Apra leader was freed the same year. Three years later, however, the Peruvian government banned the Apra from the polls, charging that it was a foreign party. But the Apra remains today an active force in Peru and in other South American countries.

The Apra movement has two aspects. It is not only a political party, but is also an ethical movement. As a radical social party, according to its supporters, it is neither communist nor fascist. Rather than being based on any foreign dogmatic creed, it aims to be rooted in the conditions and needs of Peru. It strives to work for what it considers a democracy that is to give economic and political rights to the masses of people. Although Haya himself is said to be of pure Spanish blood, he and his movement are strongly pro-Indian. Of the total population of more than 6,000,000, only about ten per cent are pure whites. The rest are Indians and mixed bloods. Specifically, the Apra favors education, nationalization of natural resources, coöperatives, social legislation, the internationalization of the Panama Canal. Haya believes there is great danger for the Americas from German aggression. The steps he advocates are the formation of a close union of Latin-American countries, and the formation of an alliance of such a union with the United States against totalitarianism. With regard to church and state, the Constitution of Peru guarantees complete religious liberty, but the Roman Catholic Church is the state religion. The Apra stands for the separation of church and state. To summarize, intellectuals, students, and laborers are to unite to end the rule of powerful native landowners and foreign capitalists, and to reconstruct the social order for economic security and freedom.

The movement has also a strong ethical side. The 1934 code of action for Apra members teaches the need for exemplary conduct, truth-telling, continence, and other forms of ethical behavior. Although the leader was not merely anti-clerical but also anti-religious in his early student days, he has since emphasized the value of the teachings of Jesus and the Hebrew prophets. His ideal is for the movement to be neither exclusively personal and spiritual, nor exclusively economic and political; it should include both aspects. Moral character and vision are to be united with economic and political realism and reconstruction.

The tall and dark-complexioned Gabriela Mistral, pen name of Lucila Alcayaza Godoy, is a prominent Latin-American educator and poet who was born in Elqui, Vicuña, in northern Chile on April 7, 1889. Although a devout Roman Catholic, she can be considered a liberal because of her interest in social justice which can be achieved, she believes, by applying Christianity to life. One of her interests is in the underprivileged, especially poor children and their mothers. In her thinking, she believes that material and intellectual progress should be made to serve the highest end of man which is the cultivation of the things of the spirit. With regard to the relation of Latin America and the United States, the educator declares that the links between the two are the Bible and Christianity.

As an educator, Gabriela Mistral began teaching in a country school in Chile, and later taught in various other schools. In 1922 the government of her country sent her to Mexico to study the organization of libraries. She was a delegate to the Congress of Education of Locarno, Switzerland, and was also an official of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. In 1931 she was professor of Spanish history and civilization in the United States, teaching at Middlebury and Bernard Colleges. Gabriela Mistral represented her country as consul in Portugal from 1935 to 1937, after holding a similar office in Spain the previous two years. At a gathering in her honor at the Pan American Union in Washington, on February 24, 1939, she was present and delivered an address on "The Human Geography of Chile." At this writing she is attached to the Chilean Legation in Rio de Janeiro.

As a poet, Gabriela Mistral has written beautiful poems, themes of which include children, home, nature, love, and tragedy. Two of her simpler poems are "Hymn to the Tree" and "The Thistle." In the former, the poet expresses her desire that, as the tree extends its sheltering grace widely, so may her soul give forth love to all. In "The Thistle" another parable is drawn from nature for human nature. The proud, beautiful flowers enclosed in the rich man's garden do not know the Christ. But the humble thistle, blossoming by the dusty wayside and cheering the weary traveler, does

know the Master. These and a number of other poems are translated into English in Alice Stone Blackwell's book, *Some Spanish-American Poets.* Several of her poems are also included in English in G. Dundas Craig's *The Modernist Trend in Spanish-American Poetry.*

A leading man of letters of Latin America is Ricardo Rojas who was born on September 16, 1882, in Tucumán, Argentina. For many years he has been connected with the University of Buenos Aires. He was dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University for three years, and was rector of the institution from 1926 to 1930. At this writing he is professor of literature in the University. A writer of plays, poems, and prose, Doctor Rojas was given the National Prize in Literature in 1922, and was publicly honored for having completed twenty-five years as a writer in 1928. A drama, *Ollantay,* based on a legendary tragedy of the Inca Indians, was written by him in 1939 and produced in the National Theater of Buenos Aires. It received first prize as the best dramatic production for that year by the National Commission of Culture of the Ministry of Education of his country.

Although born in a Catholic family and baptized, Ricardo Rojas became estranged from the Church because of his studies in philosophy. In his book, *The Invisible Christ,* translated into English, he indicates that he is not a Roman Catholic; but neither does he consider himself a Protestant. He writes of himself as simply being a Christian.

The book just referred to, Doctor Rojas explains, is an account of three conversations he had with a Roman Catholic bishop at the latter's summer residence. Sometime after the bishop's death and during an illness, he decided to write a book based on the conversations in order to examine more fully the "Christian sentiment as the inspiration of life." Three chapters consider, in turn, the image, the word, and the spirit of Christ. There is no authentic image of the bodily Jesus, he asserts, but many different images throughout Christian history. Regarding the word or message of Christ, the four gospels give as many different versions. Furthermore, varied interpretations of the spirit and mission of Christ have been held by Christians. This indicates, for Doctor Rojas, that Christianity is a dynamic and changing religion. With regard to the conception of deity, the Argentine philosopher declares that true knowledge leads to the thought of the unity of the world. We can discover and worship God who is manifest to us in the universe. God is also shown to us in Jesus Christ. The spirit of Christ, however, is not limited to the historical Jesus, but is the invisible spirit of purified conscience and unselfish love, that dwells in worthy human souls. In individuals, the rule of the unseen Master means the perfecting of our inner life and our outer conduct. In human society it means peace and brotherhood. The press, theater, school, industrial system, and state should promote fraternity. Science and machinery are not enough, according to our author, to bring genuine unity among men and peoples. The spirit of Christ present and ruling in individuals and society is absolutely necessary.

Although Doctor Rojas cannot accept either the Roman Catholic church or any Protestant denomination, he is nevertheless convinced of the vital importance of Christianity interpreted as the spirit of the invisible Christ.

Arthur Ramos is a Brazilian physician and social scientist, specializing in the study of the Negro race. He is professor of anthropology in the University of Brazil, and visited in the United States in 1941. He is still a young man, having been born on July 7, 1903, in Pilar, a town in the northeastern state of Alagõas. A number of books on the Brazilian Negro, as well as on other subjects such as psychiatry, have been written by him. A short book, *The Negro in Brazil,* has been translated into English by Richard Pattee. In 1938, the fiftieth anniversary of the abolition of slavery in Brazil, Doctor Ramos was invited by the Ministry of Education to help plan the publishing of an encyclopedia on the Negro of that country.

With regard to the racial problem, Arthur Ramos rejects such ideas as the biological inequality of races and the degeneration of mulattoes. Furthermore, he declares that some differences between peoples which are supposed to be due to race are often due to social environment. The Negro, he holds, is fundamentally an artist, and has made valuable contributions in such arts as dancing, music, sculpture. and painting. Some race prejudice, Doctor Ramos writes, does exist in certain parts of the country, such as in the southern industrial city of São Paulo where there has been much white immigration in recent years. But in all Brazil there are no legal restrictions against the Negro. Political and legal rights are the same for whites and Negroes. Throughout the vast territory in which a large colored population is to be found, race prejudice is practically non-existent. The Negro participates in the social life of the country. Intermarriage between whites and Negroes is not frowned upon, and has been practiced on a large scale.

The real problem, according to Doctor Ramos, is not race prejudice. It is rather the raising of the low material and cultural standards of the poor, whether white, Indian, or Negro.

Although the Brazilian scientist does not, so far as the present writer knows, make any comparison of the relation between whites and Negroes in Brazil and in the United States, it should be interesting to do so. The first Negroes are thought to have arrived in the old town of Bahia, Brazil, about four hundred years ago. In 1853, however, the importation of slaves from Africa was discontinued. Partial abolition of slaves was decreed by the government in 1871. At present it is estimated that the number of Negroes in that country is about twelve per cent of the population. Mixed white and Negroes or Indians constitute twenty-five per cent. Pure whites are sixty per cent.

In the United States, slavery was abolished by a civil war, whereas in Brazil it was ended peaceably by government decree. The proportion of Negroes to the total population of the United States is perhaps ten per cent. Thus this country and Brazil are the two large countries of the western hemisphere having a huge number of Negroes. In all parts of the United States there is prejudice against economic and social equality of whites and Negroes. Intermarriage in some states is illegal; in Brazil it is not. In the United States there is thus not only the social problem, as in Brazil, of raising the living standards of poor whites and Negroes, but there is also the additional problem of strong racial prejudice. Perhaps the studies of Arthur Ramos will be beneficial not only to his own country but to our country as well.

We in the United States are learning more and more of the geography and the economic conditions of

the Latin-American countries. We could add greatly to our deeper appreciation of these countries by also increasing our knowledge of their progressive thinkers in fields of science, social reform, literature, philosophy, and religion. The following bibliography will be found helpful to those who desire to pursue this subject further.

Periodicals Relating to Latin America

Amigos. 1137 Loyola Ave., Chicago, Ill. Monthly. $1.50 a year. Includes short stories and articles translated into English from Latin-American magazines.

Bolivia. 10 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y. Bi-monthly. $1.00 a year. Commerce, travel, book reviews.

Books Abroad. Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Okla. Quarterly. $2.00 a year. Section on Latin-American books.

Bulletin of the Pan American Union. Washington, D. C. Monthly. $1.50 a year.

Hispanic American Historical Review. Duke Univ. Press, Durham, N. C. Quarterly. $4.00 a year.

The Inter-American Monthly. 1200 National Press Bldg., Washington, D. C. $3.00 a year.

The Pan American. Famous Features Syndicate, 103 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. Monthly. $3.00 a year. Short articles on varied subjects.

Panorama. Division of Intellectual Cooperation, Pan American Union, Washington, D. C. Mimeographed. Inter-American cultural events. Free.

Mexican Life. Calle Uruguay 3, Mexico City, Mexico. Monthly. $2.50 a year. Stories, music, art, book reviews.

The Mexico Magazine. 614 East San Antonio St., El Paso, Texas. Monthly. $1.00 a year. Articles in both English and Spanish. News review and cultural articles.

Mexico News. Departamento de Informacion para el Extranjero de la Secretaria de Relaciones, Calle de Luis Gonzalez Obregon II, Mexico City, Mexico. Monthly. Free. Government, commerce, and a section on Mexican culture.

Books Relating to Latin America

General

Latin America, Its Rise and Progress. By Francisco Garcia Calderon. Chas. Scribners' Sons, 1913. Chapters on literature and philosophy by the Peruvian writer.

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Heroic Story of Margaret Sanger

MAY STRANATHAN

The recent autobiography* of Margaret Sanger tells a story of supreme interest today. She went to prison eight times because she not only believed in freedom of conscience but dared to do what her conscience told her to do. As the protagonist of birth control Margaret Sanger did not hesitate to test the constitutionality of the law. She broke it and stood trial time after time to find out whether or not giving instruction in birth control to desperate, sick, and poverty-stricken women must be classed as obscene—written or spoken. When the law interfered with her rights in this matter, the law must be changed—she could not be. When the judge asked her if she would promise not to break the law again to secure her freedom, she calmly replied: "When those poor women ask me for help, I shall give it to them."

So earnest, so frank, so reasonable was she in defending this right, as she explained her work over and over to police, lawyers, and judges, that she almost, if not altogether, persuaded them to believe in her cause; though they were forced to detain her according to the letter of the law, as interpreted in the days when it was permissible to speak of "social menaces" or "venereal diseases" in a polite way, but not to speak of "gonorrhea" or "syphilis."

Margaret Sanger soon gathered to her support most of the prominent exponents of liberal thought not only in this country but abroad, especially in England. For years the Catholic Church was her most powerful enemy, and some of the most striking pages in the book tell of how, at the behest of Archbishop Hayes, her meeting in the Town Hall in New York City was broken up by the police; and of the raid on her clinic in West Fifteenth street. But Margaret Sanger is one of those rare and happy souls to whom, as Emerson says, nothing can happen amiss, and who turn all their trials into advantages. Again and again on the witness stand she exposed the absurdity of the reasoning of those who opposed her—as when she showed the "rhythm" system, approved by the Catholics, as being a direct contradiction of their age-old theory that marriage was designed by the Creator solely for the production of children. The testimony of Father Coughlin at a hearing on the birth control bill before Congress is one of the high spots in the tactics of the opponents of the bill.

The history of the struggle through many years to have instruction in birth control made legal is an absorbing story of grit and determination. Only after a national body of doctors had been formed in 1935 to carry on the legislative work, was a bill passed giving to doctors the right to administer contraceptives. When Margaret Sanger saw the news in the morning paper in 1937, she was so excited she fell downstairs.

Through her work Margaret Sanger came to know everybody of note, so it seems. Organizations of which she had been but dimly aware expressed their interest. When she went to Europe she was warmly greeted by the Fabian Society of Liverpool and the Malthusians of London. Among her most devoted supporters in England were Mr. and Mrs. H. G. Wells, and Mr. and Mrs. Havelock Ellis. While resting from a strenuous conference, she went to St. Moritz and there she had an interview with Lady Astor. This interview, short and to the point, as related in the autobiography, ended in gaining Lady Astor as a friend to the movement.

Not so effective was her interview with Mahatma Gandhi when she visited him at his home in India. He was not in sympathy with her ideas, but he was with her ideals. Although he told her, "This has not been wasted effort. We have certainly come nearer together," she felt that it was futile to count on any help from him in India and that he would not change. She did not "believe he had the faintest glimmerings of the inner working of a woman's heart or mind." He could see no compromise between total continence and unlicensed sex. In contrast to this, when she visited Rabindranath Tagore, she found much comfort in his attitude.

On her way to India on a Japanese steamer, Margaret Sanger was "horrified to see the segregation of the whites and the orientals. Here were the aristocrats of a people by nature intelligent, well-bred, well-clothed, inclined to be friendly. They had made valiant efforts to adapt themselves to occidentalism. Yet my compatriots kept them aloof." The army of babies in Japan aroused her wonder. She says:

> I could not believe any country could contain so many babies. Fathers carried them in their arms, mothers carried them in a sort of shawl, children carried babies, even babies carried smaller babies. Boys with babies on their backs were playing ball, the heads of the babies wobbling so you thought their necks would be broken. I never saw a baby slapped or scolded in any way. They all seemed happy and smiling.

In Japan she was entertained by the Kaiso group, a liberal organization headed by the Baron and Baroness Ishimoto, whom she had met in New York. She spoke at the Tokyo Y. W. C. A. but was not allowed to discuss birth control. She remarks:

> In Japan I heard on every side of the New Woman, but I never saw her. Only those who had turned Christian showed any signs of independent thinking. To be a Christian seemed to imply being a radical or rebel of some kind. They told me this with secret pride.

**Margaret Sanger: an autobiography.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 504 pp. $3.50.

She visited Germany shortly after the war where the lack of food was appalling. She says of this:

> In Berlin I found myself haunting grocery stores like a hungry animal. . . . For many months many families had existed on nothing but turnips. They ate turnip soup, turnips raw, turnips mashed, turnip salad, and drank turnip coffee until their whole systems revolted physically against the very sight of turnips. Contact with other persons in trams, halls, churches, even streets, was nauseating. In a few minutes the fumes of turnips from their bodies was so offensive they became almost unendurable to themselves. . . . I heard countless stories of mothers who had been tortured by watching their children slowly starve to death. . . . The old-fashioned warrior who entered with the sword and killed his victims outright had my respect after witnessing the "peace conditions" of Germany.

Abortions were rife in Germany at that time, for the women had rebelled against bringing more children into the world than could be fed. She asked a doctor why the medical men of Germany favored abortions rather than birth control. He replied:

> We will never give over the control of our numbers to the women themselves. What? Let them control the future of the human race? With abortions it is in our hands. We make the decisions and they must come to us.

This book, which has a tribute by Pearl Buck, is a challenge to the women of the world. To quote Dean Inge, as Margaret Sanger does:

> It is a pleasant prospect if every nation with a high birth rate has a "right" to exterminate its neighbors. The supposed duty of multiplication and the alleged right to expand are among the chief causes of modern war, and I repeat that if we justify war, it must be a war of extermination, since mere conquest does nothing to solve the problem.

The Study Table

"The Governor of England"

MONTAGU NORMAN. *By John Hargrave. New York: The Greystone Press.* 239 *pp.* $2.75.

Here is a biography of one of the world's most famous men by an author who is frankly prejudiced against him.

Even so, this is an impish rather than a malicious biography, and the best chapters are the ones in which the author in complete unrestraint pokes fun at the man who as governor of the Bank of England over an unprecedented period of time has been called, also, "the Governor of England."

Montagu Norman comes from a great ancestry of bankers. He was educated at Eton and at Cambridge, entered at once into his inherited profession; and at the age of twenty-nine became a partner in the firm of Brown, Shipley and Company. Seven years later he became a director of the Bank of England, and in 1920 its Governor. That post he still holds.

Hargrave sees in Montagu Norman a man of many talents and many faces. In his apparently earnest endeavor to avoid publicity Norman has traveled incognito so often, and under so many disguises, that he has become England's man of mystery. Gold is his idol, and the gold standard his dogma and his religion. When he brought Britain "back to gold" in 1925 it was a personal victory which did Britain no good. When Britain was forced off the gold standard in 1931, it was Norman's major defeat.

Notable and revealing phrases culled from Norman's rare interviews and speeches stick in the reader's memory. "Never explain, never apologize" is quoted to suggest his methods in directing financial policies in Britain. "I wish they would let me stay here" is the expression of a momentary desire to stay in his lovely flower garden just when he feels driven, as usual, to continue his vigil as guardian of the gold stored in "the fortress of England." "One step enough for me" is the faintly religious approach to the problem of impending world chaos by the world's greatest financial overlord. In his reply to his many critics on the eve of the second World War Norman was quoted as saying, "I console myself with this, that 'the dogs bark but the caravan passes on'."

Space does not permit mention of the events that led to Munich and the destruction of Czechoslovakia; but Montagu's part in the process, along with Neville Chamberlain's, is recorded here. Always the mysterious figure, he flitted from New York to Paris to Rome to Berlin—back and forth—hoping to do something, but seeing everything in terms of gold and England's financial stability, and seeing nothing else.

This, at least, is the picture we have painted here. Always on the surface it is a humorous, exciting book; but there is underneath a seriousness which reveals the bungling and unimaginative leadership of men in various capacities who would strengthen Hitler's hand rather than modify post-war treaties, and who share so large a part of the blame for the present world tragedy.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER.

A Peruvian Social Novel

BROAD AND ALIEN IS THE WORLD. *By Ciro Alegria. New York: Farrar & Rinehart.* $2.75.

Not only does Mr. Ciro Alegria's novel contain accounts of hard experiences of Indians in Peru, but also the author himself underwent bitter experiences in the same country, his native land. Some knowledge of his earlier life is helpful in reading his book. About twelve years ago he was an active worker in the Popular Revolutionary Alliance of America, a reform party whose aims include improving the lot of the Indian and curbing the power of the wealthy landowners. The majority of the Peruvian population are of Indian or mixed blood, and illiteracy is very high. Although himself white, Mr. Alegria championed the cause of the Indians and, along with other party workers, was tortured and imprisoned under a dictator President. Finally, however, he went to Chile as an exile. There this young author, who was born in 1909, wrote the present book which won first prize in a Latin-American novel contest.

The novel contains a number of stories within the main story. The leading theme is the struggle between the Indians of a village on the highlands of Peru and a wealthy white landowner. The latter by so-called legal methods strives to get control of the Indian community in order to have more land, and also more labor to work his ranches and mines. The ranch owner wins the lawsuit. The Indians leave their old land and rebuild another community elsewhere. Again the owner attempts to obtain the new settlement, but the villagers resist. The Indians, however, are finally defeated and this means the end of their community. Thus the title, *Broad and Alien Is the World.*

JOHN H. HERSHEY.